5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

with her restricted notions about the family, to integrate successfully into the extended family, especially in a territory like Senegal where family relations are of such importance that it is practically forbidden to refer to the economic burden they cause. The European wife often insists on her husband breaking with the extended family and restricting the family to the usual European size. Instances of marriage between European male and African females are rare because of the small number of well educated African females.

This all builds up to a picture of a French community with little interest in assimilating the Senegalese to their own standards. But a number of points must be stressed. On the whole the French have always accepted the Senegalese as equals. There is a strict code of mutual courtesy between Senegalese and all but the most uncouth Frenchmen. As Claude Duchemin of the *Institut Francais d'Afrique Noire* has written: 'A genuine "niceness" was apparent in their daily contacts, simply and with no ostentation, as if it were quite natural. It seemed that each wanted to prove to the other his wish to play the game loyally, without complexes.' Also there has been remarkably little use of 'pidgin' in Senegal, a debased form of French which by implication infers an inferior recipient.

But most important of all is the fact that a small minority of Frenchmen, fortunately usually in positions of authority have followed personally an assimilationist policy. This has been most marked in the political sphere. Though the great majority of Frenchmen who were interviewed by Mercier had nothing to do with local politics and even talked in terms of maintaining 'white solidarity' a few were militant politicians alongside men like Senghor and Lamine Guèye. Men like Maître Paul Bonifay, until recently deputy Mayor of Dakar, who was Secretary of the *S.F.I.O.* in Dakar for many years, or André Peytavin, who worked closely with Senghor in the early days of the *B.D.S.* and was chosen as Minister of Finance in the Government

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

563 formed as a result of the *loi cadre* reforms, are typical of the
[645] Frenchmen who have identified themselves with the country of their sojourn. Indeed such was the devotion of Peytavin to his party's cause that he was retained as Minister of Finance even after independence and opted for Senegalese nationality, a step that Bonifay found himself unable to take. These were men of high education—Bonifay, a well known lawyer, and Peytavin a veterinary surgeon. There were many others like them, not only applying such principles in the political field, but in the administration and commerce, who helped to dispel from the African what would otherwise have been a dominant impression of an isolationist and sometimes racist French community.

[369] It would be foolish to paint too idealised a picture of
[571] race relations in Dakar. Many Europeans, particularly the *petit blanc*, openly admit to holding the African in contempt. But these are usually Europeans of little economic or political consequence and since independence their opinions have obviously carried negligible weight with the Senegalese.

Furthermore most Europeans in Dakar and the other main towns of Senegal, whatever their prejudices, send their children to local schools, where perforce they mix on terms of equality with Africans. The same is true of
[873] Dakar University which has a large number of French students, the majority of whom are girls whose parents are working in Dakar. Their brothers try if possible to go to French universities. Though friendships tend to be
[572] within the same racial group, there is a considerable number of inter-racial friendships.

563 The main point of conflict would appear to the casual
369 visitor to be the economic domination of private enterprise
463 and the more important subaltern jobs by Europeans.
472 But before analysing any tensions that have arisen from this, it is essential to point to some special features of Senegalese society. In Senegal, by contrast with Nigeria, Ghana and Ivory Coast, there is no entrepreneurial class of

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

renominated, the Wolofs created a *Bloc Démocratique du Djollof* which polled 6,000 votes to the 8,000 of the Fula candidate.

A further commentary on the lack of tribalism in Senegal is the ethnic structure of the Government and the national assembly. The Government is composed of the President of the Republic, who is a Serer, a President of the Council of Ministers who is Toucouleur with strong Wolof ancestry, and fourteen Ministers of whom nine are Wolof, two are half-caste, one a Frenchman who has opted for Senegalese nationality, one a Diola and one a Lebou.

The ethnic repartition of the Senegalese National Assembly is equally revealing*:

Tribe	*Percentage of population*	*Number of Deputies*	*Percentage of Deputies*
Wolof	35·0	33	41
Serer	16·0	5	6
Lebou	0·2	10	13
Toucouleur	9·0	10	13
Fula	17·0	5	6
Diola	9·0	5	6
Mandingo/Bambara	7·0	3	4
European	0·1	3	4
Metis	0·1	5	6
Rest	4·7	1	1

The above figures, with the reservations footnoted, show that the National Assembly with one or two exceptions

* These figures were supplied to me by William J. Foltz and are based on his own research and ethnic data from the *S.E.R.E.S.A. Rapport General* 1ère partie, Ch. 1., p. 38. The population figures are based on old administrative censuses, which may be somewhat conservative. The figures for the Lebou seem surprisingly low. Furthermore, placing deputies under a particular ethnic grouping is often an arbitrary process, since it is in the educated classes that the highest rate of inter-ethnic marriage occurs. Furthermore the large number of Wolofs can partly be explained by the fact that anyone of mixed ethnic origin, in which one parent is Wolof, tends to call himself Wolof.

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

369 633 175 [666] in some years. Since the beginning of the 20th century, however, urban citizens have taken an increasingly lively interest in political matters.[18]

In this restricted political system the relative importance of the roles played by different ethnic groupings and different cities varied continuously. Ethnic dominance, first held by the old European families, passed gradually to mixed-blood society, which came into being in the 18th century and rapidly acquired wealth, education, and influence. By the mid-19th century mixed-bloods made up the majority of the westernized population. But the entry of the emancipated slaves, the first sizable migration toward the cities, quickly reduced the mixed-bloods to a minority. In 1900 they numbered less than 5,000 in the four communes together, though for several decades their economic and political influence remained quite disproportionate to their numbers. Among the cities, St. Louis was predominant until WW I. At the beginning of the century it practically controlled the deputation to the French legislature and the Council-general — and hence the economic life of the territory. Then Gorée-Dakar came to the fore;[19] in 1914 a citizen of Gorée, Blaise Diagne, was elected deputy, followed by Galandou Diouf and Lebou. These men were the first elected Senegalese to win broad support at Paris; Diagne himself was appointed a Secretary of State [a subministerial post, equivalent to a U.S. Under-Secretary]. In Senegal, the authority of elected officials — deputies and Councillors-general — increased, and clashes with the civil administration were frequent.[20]

563 668 [166] [162] 668 [869] [645] [642]

[P. 8 B]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

641 other privileges of French citizenship. In due course the same [633] status was conferred on natives of Dakar, and in 1916 French citizenship was extended not only to natives born in these four communes but to their descendants also. It thus came about that out [162] of 80,500 native citizens in the whole of French West Africa 78,000 live in Senegal or Dakar. Of these the great bulk resides in the four old communes.

633 Municipal government, on entirely metropolitan lines, was conferred upon St. Louis and Goree in 1872 and upon Rufisque in 1880. In 1887 Dakar, which had hitherto formed part of Goree, was separated from it, receiving its own elected mayor and council, and in 1929 absorbed its parent. The District of Dakar was separated from Senegal in 1924, and received its own Administrator, directly responsible to the Governor-General.

646 Parliamentary representation was suspended under Napoleon III, but restored in 1870. Until 1914 a European had been elected, but the racial issue was deliberately raised in that year, when M. Blaise [645] Diagne, a Sérère, entered on his long term as Deputy for Senegal. He thoroughly justified his race by heading a campaign for voluntary recruitment in Senegal during the War of 1914–1918, and subsequently held office as Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies. As early as 1879 the General Council was elected by the citizens of [633] the four communes. It had certain powers of taxation and legislation over the four communes, powers which, though limited, were more democratic than in other parts of French West Africa. Its greatest influence, however, lay in the criticism of the Government, a function which, withheld from it by law, sprang naturally from the power of taxation. When the formal distinction between colony and protectorate disappeared, the General Council gave place to the existing Colonial Council (p. 432), a body with generally similar powers extending over the whole colony.

648 *Senegal and Federation.* Before 1845 and again from 1859 to 1893 [643] the whole of what is now French West Africa was administered by the Governor of Senegal. It was natural, therefore, that in 1895 he should be appointed Governor-General of the Federation, with its not very precise constitution. This appointment was welcomed in Senegal, as it enhanced the colony's supremacy. In 1902 the Governor-Generalship was made a separate office, and Senegal sank to the level of the other colonies. This new arrangement, although a blow [652] to the pride of the Senegalese, did not touch their pockets. They still kept control of their own revenues, out of which they voted a sum

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

9. ADMINISTRATION

DAKAR, the capital of the Federation and the residence of the Governor-General, is geographically in Senegal, and from its foundation in 1863 it was administered by the Governor of Senegal as part of that colony. By the decrees of 25 October and 27 November 1924, however, the District of Dakar was, without prejudice to its municipal institutions, made a separate administrative unit, under an Administrator directly responsible to the Governor-General. Only Dakar and Goree were originally included, with an area of 60 square miles, but the Commune of Rufisque was added by a decree of 9 June 1937. The District now has a population of 127,000, and it has its own budget.

Senegal returns a deputy to the French Chamber of Deputies, who is elected by French citizens (European or native) resident in the colony and in Dakar. The deputy is *ex officio* Senegal's representative on the Supreme Council of the French Colonial Empire.

Councils

Executive Councils. The Executive Council of Senegal is composed of the Governor, the Secretary-General, the Attorney-General, the officer commanding the troops, one French citizen elected by the Chamber of Commerce of St. Louis, and one citizen and two subjects nominated for two years by the Governor-General.

It is a purely advisory body, but the Governor is bound to consult it on such matters as the Colonial Budget, proposed changes in taxation, disposal of government property, and concessions. He may indeed, require its advice on any matter he chooses.

The Executive Council for the District of Dakar was at one time composed of the Standing Committee of the Governor-General's Council together with the Administrator. This arrangement, legalized in 1924, was changed by a decree of the 9 June 1937 which gave Dakar its own Executive Council, composed of the Administrator, Deputy-Administrator, the officer commanding the troops at Dakar, the Attorney-General, one member of the Chamber of Commerce appointed by that body, two municipal councillors of Dakar and one of Rufisque appointed by their respective councils, and one French subject appointed by the Governor-General.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

633 The Council has the same functions as that of the colony, but its
645 decisions need the approval (usually formal) of the Standing
[648] Committee of the Governor-General's Council.

The Executive Councils of Senegal and of Dakar are known as *conseils privés*, whereas those of the other colonies are known as *conseils d'administration*.

646 *The Colonial Council of Senegal.* The history of the Colonial
633 Council and of its predecessor, the General Council, has been given above. The earlier council had jurisdiction over the four full communes only, but its successor, which dates from 1920, when all distinctions between colony and protectorate were abolished, has jurisdiction over the whole colony. The inhabitants of the District of Dakar still retain their votes for the Colonial Council, and as a corollary the Council can discuss the affairs of the District. The pretext for this decision was afforded by the provision, in the decrees
[652] of 1924, that the Colonial Budget of Senegal should contain a grant in aid of Dakar; but French writers do not disguise the fact that it was thought not desirable entirely to divorce the District from the rest of Senegal. The decrees of 1924, therefore, expressly left it an integral, though autonomous, part.

646 The Colonial Council is unique in French Africa in that its
666 membership includes Europeans, natives, chiefs, citizens, and sub-
[642] jects. It is, therefore, worthy of detailed mention. Its constitution and powers are laid down in a decree of 4 December 1920, as amended by decrees of 30 March 1925, 13 January 1930, and 8 April 1939. This last added the subjects. The colony is divided into four electoral districts, from which members are elected on a population basis. The Council is elected for a term of six years, but, on the recom-
[648] mendation of the Governor, it may be dissolved by the Governor-General. Should a dissolution occur, a new election must be held within three months. There are 62 members in all: 26 citizens elected by citizens, 18 provincial or canton chiefs elected by those of the same rank, and 18 native subjects. These subjects must either have been born in the colony or be descendants of subjects born in
[641] the colony; they must have completed their military service; and they are elected by all other subjects who fulfil the same conditions. In 1929 the European element only numbered one-fifth of the total membership, and the additions made in 1939 will have had the effect of swamping it.

646 The Council meets for a fortnight's session once a year, but it can
643 be summoned by the Governor at any time. It chooses its own